From the Charleston Courier, 5th inst.

COMMISSIONERS OF SOUTH CABOLINA. following correspondence was read in secret session, and from which the injunction of secrecy was removed. We are indebted to the courtesy of Gen. P. Quattlebaum

for facilities in procuring, at a late hour last night, copies

for publication in this morning's Courier: WASHINGTON, December 28, 1860. Sir: We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the full powers from the Convention of the people of South Carolina, under which we are "authorized and empowered to treat with the Government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, within the limits of South Carolina, and also for an apportionment of the public debt and for a division of all the property held by the Government of the United States, as agent of the Confederated States, of which South Carolina was recently a member, relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and out a fair hearing.

amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington." you, as we now do, with an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession, by which the State of South Carolina has re-

questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this | night (the 27th) to Fort Moultrie.' Ordinance, and that we were prepared to enter upon this

But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here the representatives of an authority, which could at any time within the past sixty days have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but upon pledges given in a manner that than to its own power. Since our arrival an officer of the United States acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another, thus altering to a most important extent the ondition of affairs under which we came.

Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangements by which our mutual

interests might be amicably adjusted. And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment.
We have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, Your obedient servants, R. W. BARNWELL,) J. H. ADAMS, JAMES L. ORR. To the President of the United States.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 30, 1860. Gentlemen :- I have had the honor to receive your comunication of 28th inst., together with a copy of " your full powers of the Convention of the people of South Carolina. authorizing you to treat with the Government of the United States on various important subjects therein mentioned, United States of America,' is hereby dissolved."

In answer to this communication, I have to say, that my position, as President of the United States, was clearly defined in the Message to Congress on the 3d inst. In that I stated that, "apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change ed by us to you on the 2sth of the same month, as Comthe relations heretofore existing between them, much less missioners from South Carolina. to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would

Congress, who alone possess the power, as to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to | Satisfied that the State had simply exercised her unque the possession of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charles- tionable right, we were prepared, in order to reach subton; and I therefore deeply regret, that, in your opinion stantial good, to waive the formal considerations which "the events of the last twenty-four hours render this your constitutional scruples might have prevented you from

drawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston," stating entire willingness, of which you assured us, to submit any that "under present circumstances they are a standing proposition to Congress, which we might have to make menace which renders negotiation impossible, and as our recent experience show, threatens speedily to bring to a willingness was ample recognition of the condition of pubbloody issue questions which ought to be settled with tem- lie affairs which rendered our presence necessary. In this

your arrival in Washington, "an officer of the United States | misconceptions of our letter, into which you have fallen. acting as we (you) are assured not only without, but You say "it was my earnest desire that such a disposidays, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston har-last twenty four hours render this impossible "

stated, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, that it "has been purchased for a fair Again It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel | reference to the belief of the people of South Carolina. the United States from this property by force; but if in this would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assallants." This being the condition of the parties, on Saturday, 8th December, four of the Representatives from South Carolina | points of the argument. called on me, and requested an interview. We had an earnest conversation on the subject of these forts, and the best means of preventing a collision between the parties, for the cede from the United States. She called a Convention of her purpose of sparing the effusion of blood. I suggested, for | people to put her declaration in force. The Convention met prudential reasons that it would be best to put in writing and passed the Ordinance of Secession. All this you anticiwhat they said to me verbally. They did so accordingly, pated, and your course of action was thorougly considered. and on Monday morning, the 10th instant, three of them pre- In your annual essage you declared you had no right, and

ing is a copy:

"To His Excellency James Buchanan, "President United States:

In compliance with our statement to you vesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions that neither the constituted authorities nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of Charleston previously not until an offer has been made through an accredited representative to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most emiprovided that no reinforcements shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at JOHN McQUEEN.

M. L. BONHAM, W. W. BOYCE, LAURENCE M. KEITT.

Washington, 9th December, 1860.' time the paper was presented to me, I objected to the word my part which I never would make. They said that nothing ceived and acted on assurances from the highest official auwas further from their intention-they did not so understand it, and I should not so consider it. It is evident they could enter into no reciprocal agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more in effect than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen to exert their influence for the purpose expressed.

The event has proven that they have faithfully kept their ments shall be sent into those forts and their relative militapromise, although I have never since received a line from any member of the Convention, on the subject. It is well attach no force to the acceptance of such a paper—acthough not to reinforce the forts in the harbor and thus produce a mise of highly honorable gentlemen." as an obligation on collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I one side without a corresponding obligation on the other, had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked. it must be remembered (if we are rightly informed) that This paper I received most cordially, and considered it as a happy omen that peace might still be preserved, and that time might be thus given for reflection. This is the whole executed your resolution. foundation for the alleged pledge. But I acted in the same and formal agreement with parties capable of contracting, issued by the Secretary of War, on the 11th inst., to Major Anderson, but not brought to my notice until the 21st inst.

Memorandum of Verbal Instructions to Major Anderson

attack on, or attempt to take possession of either of them, put your command into either of them which you may deem also autho. ized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.

"D. P. BUTLER, " Assistant Adjutant General." "FORT MOULTRIE. S. C., December 11, 1860." This is in conformity to my instructions to Major Buell. "JOHN B. FLOYD,

Secretary of War. These were the last instructions transmitted to Major Anderson before his removal to Fort Sumter, with a single exception, in regard to a particular which does not in any degree affect the present question. Under these circumstansponsibility and without authority, unless, indeed, he had 'tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act" on the part of the authorities of South Carolina, which has and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and ar- not been alleged. Still he is a brave and honorable officer, rangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing and justice requires that he should not be condemned with

Be this as it may, when I learned that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie and proceeded to Fort Sumter, my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his instructions. This would only have been done, with any sumed the powers she delegated to the Government of the | degree of sa'ety to the command, by the concurrence of the United States, and has declared her perfect sovereignty and | South Carolina authorities. But before any steps could possibly have been taken in this direction, we received informa-It would also have been our duty to have informed you tion that the "Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at that we were ready to negotiate with you upon all such | Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last

Thus, the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting negotiation with the earnest desire to avoid all unnecessary or asking for any explanations, and. doubtless, believing as and hostile collision, and so to inaugurate our new relations you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only as to secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a fu- without, but against my orders, on the very next day after ture of good will and harmony, beneficial to all the parties the night when the removal was made, seized by a military force, two of the three federal forts in the harbor of charleston, and have covered them under their own flag, instead of that of the United States. At this gleomy period of our history, startling events succeed each other rapidly.

On the very day, the 27th instant, that possession of two forts was taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather | Federal Custom House and Postoffice in Charleston, and on the same day every officer of the Customs-Collector, Naval Officer, Surveyor and Appraiser-resigned their offices .-And this, although it was well known from the language of my Massage, that, as an Executive officer, I felt myself and to collect the revenue at the port of Charleston under the existing laws. In the harbor of Charleston we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the Federal flag floated only four days ago; but now, over two of them this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead.

It is under all these circumstances that I am urged imme diately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and am informed that without this, negetiation is impossible. This I cannot do; this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No allusion had been made in any communication be tween myself and any human b ing. But the inference is, that I am bound to withdraw the troops from the only fort remaining in the possession of the United States, in the harbor of Charleston, because the officer there in command of all the forts, thought proper, without instructions, to change his position from one of them to another. At this point of writing I have received information by

telegraph, from Captain Humphreys, in command of the Arsenal at Charleston, that "it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th,) been taken by force of arms." It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to the United States in this Arsenal are worth half a million of dollars. Comment is needles. After this information, I have only to add, that whilst it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter, as a | your honor.

portion of the public property of the United States, against and also a copy of the Ordinance, bearing date on the 20th | hostile attacks from whatever quarter they may come, by inst., declaring that "the Union now subsisting between such means as I may possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defence can be construed against the city of Charleston. With great personal regard, I remain yours very respect-

JAMES BUCHANAN. To Honorable Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams,

Washington, D. C., January 1, 1861. Sir :- We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December, in reply to a note address-

In reference to the declaration with be to invest a mere Executive officer with the power of re- commences, that your "position as President of the United cognizing the dissolution of the Confederacy among our States was clearly defined in the Message to Congress on thirty-three Sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the 3d instant;" that you possess "no power to change the the recognition of a foreign de facto Government involving | relations heretofore existing " between South Carolina and no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on the States, "much less to acknowledge the independence his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my of that State," and that consequently you could meet us onduty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its ly as private gentlemen of the highest character, with an entire willingness to communicate to Congress any propo-Such is my opinion still. I could therefore meet you only sition we might have to make," we deem it only necessary as private gentlemen of the highest character, and was to say that the State of South Carolina having, in the exerentirely willing to communicate to Congress any proposition | cise of that great right of self-government which underlies you might have to make to that body upon the subject .- all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign Of this you were well aware. It was my earnest desire that and independent, we, as her representatives, felt no spicial such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by | solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize

extending. We came here, therefore, expecting to be re-In conclusion you urge upon me "the immediate with- ceived as you did receive us, and perfectly content with that apon the subject of the Independence of the State. That The reason for this change in your postion is that since | we represent and to ourselves, to correct several important

against your (my) orders, has dismantled one fort and oc- tion should be made of the whole subject by Congress, who cupied another, thus altering to a most important extent alone possess the power, to prevent the inauguration of a the condition of affairs under which we (you) came." You civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of also allege that you came here "the Representatives of an the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston and I thereauthority which could at any time within the past sixty fore, deeply regret that, in your opinion, 'the events of the bor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we pressed no such opinion, and the language which you quote (you) cannot doubt, determined to trust to your (my) honor | as ours is altered in its sense by the omission of a most important part of the sentence. What we did say was : " But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an asalleged pledges, and in what manner they have been surance impossible." Place that "assurance" as containobserved. In my Message of the 3d of December last, I ed in our letter in the sentence, and we are prepared to re-

equivalent by the consent of the Legislature of the State, the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, &c., and over | for any explanation, and, doubtless believing, as you have these the authority to exercise exclusive legislation, has expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress .- | against my orders," &c. We expressed no such opinion in The language which you have quoted was applied solely I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of and entirely to our assurances, obtained here, and based, as the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. you well know, upon your own declaration, a declaration In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences | which, at that time, it was impossible for the authorities of letter into all its details, we propose only to meet the chief Some weeks ago, the State of South Carolina declared her

intention, in the existing condition of public affairs, to se

sented to me a paper, signed by all the Representatives from | would not attempt, to coerce a seceding State, but that you South Carolina with a single exception, of which the follow- were bound by your constitutional oath, and would defend the property of the United States within the borders of South Carolina, if an attempt was made to take it by force. Seeing very early that this question of property was a difficult and delicate one, you manifested a desire to settle it without collision. You did not reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston. You removed a distinguished cause he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send additional troops to the same garrison, when applied for by the officer appointed to succeed him .nent member of your Cabinet, rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumter to return immediately to the Arsenal forty the midst of a period of unexampled physical prosperimuskets, which he had taken to arm his men. You expressed, not to one, but to many of the most distinguished of our public characters, whose testimony will be placed upon the record, whenever it is necessary, your anxiety for a our commerce whitening every sea, the refining influence peaceful termination of this controversy, and your willing- of the arts, and the practical benefits of science were teract the progress of society.' ness not to disturb the military status of the forts, if Com-missioners should be sent to the Government, whose com-" as it might be construed into an agreement on | munications you promised to submit to Congress. You re-United States if you would not disturb their existing condi-House of Representatives a written memorandum that no known it was my determination, and this I freely expressed, you "considered it as nothing more in effect than the pro-

You sent orders to your officers commanding them, strictmanner as I would have done had I entered into a positive ly to follow a line of conduct in conformity with such an understanding. Besides all this, you had received formal although such an agreement would have been on my part, and official notice from the Governor of South Carolina that from the nature of my official duties, impossible. The world | we had been appointed Commissioners, and were on our knows that I have never sent any reinforcements to the forts in Charleston harbor, and I have certainly never auder which we came; our arrival was notified to you, and an Bearing upon this subject, I refer you to an order by the Secretary of War, on the 11th inst., to Major on, but not brought to my notice until the 21st inst.

Hour appointed for an interview. We arrived in Washing-ton on Wednesday, at 3 o'clock, and you appointed an interview with us at on the next day. Early on that day controlling influence in the policy of this Government; that the wand of power has passed for-constitution of a new and more independent Congress."

With the courage and the resolution, and produce the union and the course of the union to be independent on the countrie in the state of the union and the course of the union thorized any change to be made in their relative military hour appointed for an interview. We arrived in Washing-Major Anderson. That news was communicated to you ever into the exclusive grasp of a dominant section, immediately, and you postponed our meeting until half-past 1st Artillery, Commanding Fort Moultrie, South Carolina: 2 o'clock on Friday, in order that you might consult your

will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of (harleston. Under present circumstances, most proper, to increase its power of resistance. You are they are a standing menace which renders negotiation im-also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have possible," &c. "Under present circumstances!" What ircumstances? Why, clearly the occupation of Fort Sumter and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, in the face of your pledges, and without explanation or practical disavowal. And there is nothing in the letter which would or could have prevented you from declining to withdraw the troops and offering the restoration of the status to which you were pledged, if such had been your desire. It would have been wiser and better, in our opinion, to have withdrawn the troops; and this opinion we urged upon you, but we demanded nothing but such an explanation of the events of the last twenty-four hours as would reces, it is clear that Major Anderson acted upon his own re- store our confidence in the spirit with which the negotiations should be conducted.

In relation to this withdrawal of the troops from the har oor, we are compeled, however, to notice one pass ge of me in any possible contingency. No allusion to it had ever been made in any communication between myself and any

In reply to this statement we are compelled to say it, that your conversation with us left upon our minds the distinct impression that you did seriously contemplate the withdrawal of the troops from Charleston harbor. And in support of this impression we would add, that we have the whose name and fame, secured by long service and patriotic achievement, place their testimony beyond cavil,-that such suggestions had been made to and urged upon you by them, and had formed the subject of more than one earnest discu-sion with you. And it was this knowledge that induced us to urge upon you a policy which had, to recommend it, its own wisdom and the weight of such authority.

As to the second point, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanations and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other even if this were so, it does not avail you for defence, for the opportunity was afforded you before these facts occur-We arrived in Washington on Wednesday. The news

They told you that every hour complicated your position. They only asked you to give the assurance that if the facts -your immediate and proper adviser in this whole matter waited anxiously for your decision until he felt that delay was becoming dishonor.

South Caronna had done, and your prompt decision at any moment of that time would have avoided the subsequent complications. But if you had known the acts of the autherities of South Carolina, should that have prevented your keeping your faith? What was the condition of things ?-For the last sixty days you have had in Charleston harbor not force enough to hold the forts against an equal enemy. Two of them were empty; one of those, too, the most im-You ought to know better than any man that it would have himself to a criminal prosecution. been taken but for the efforts of those who put their trust in

Believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumter esmined to forbear, and in good faith sent on their Commissioners to negotiate with you. They meant you no harm; luty, to spare you unnecessary and hostile collision. Scarcely had their Commissioners left, than Major Anderson waged

war. No other words will describe his action. It was not a peaceful chan e from one fort to another; i was a hostile act in the highest sense, and only justified in the presence of a superior enemy and in imminent peril .-He abandoned his position, spiked his gans, bu ned his guncarriages, made preparations for the destruction of his post. and withdrew under cover of the night to a safer position. This was war. No man could have believed (without your assurance) that any officer could have taken such a step, 'not only without orders, but against orders." What the State did was in simple self-defence; for this act, with all as no room for delay; and even at this moment, while we are writing, it is more than probable, from the tenor of your letter, that reinforcements are hurrying into the conflict, so ed by regular reinforcements, and terminating in deleat or victory. And all this without the slightest provocation; one thing you cannot say-you have waited anxiously for news from the seat of war, in hopes that delay would fur-

nish some excuse for this precipitation. But this "taugible evi ence of a design to proceed to a tostile act on the part of the authorities of South Carolina, which is the only justification of Major Anderson, you are forced to admit " has not yet been alleged." But you have decided. You have resolved to hold by force what you have obtained through our misplaced confidence, and, by

Be the issue what it may, of this we are assured, that : ort Moultrie has been recorded in history as a memorial eeding page as an imperishable testimony of Caro ina faith. evil one, and By your course you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. he it so. If you choose to force this issue upon us the state of South Carolina will accept it, and relying ipon Him who is the God of Justice as well as the God of Hosts, will endeavor to perform the great duties which lie before her, hopefully, bravely and thoroughly. Our mission being one for negotiation and peace, and your

note leaving us without hope of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter, or of the restoration of the status quo existing at the time of our arrival, and intimating, as we think, your determination to reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston, we respect ully inform you that we purpose returning to Charleston to morrow afternoon. We have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your

R. W. BARNWELL,) J. H. ADAMS, Commissioners. JAMES L. OKR. To his Excellency, the President of the United States. I XECUTIVE MANSION, 3 o'clock.

This paper just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it. SPEECH OF ELI W. HALL, Esq.,

December 19th, 1860. Mr. Hall offered the following resolutions: Resolved, That North Carolina is devotedly attached to the Union of the Constitution—the Union of our fathers, and still hopes that it may be restored and perpetuated. Resolved, however, That unless by the 4th of March next. the lust of exclusive Northern sectional domination shall be quieted, and a reaction in public sentiment at the North upon the subject of slavery shall have taken place, eventuating in further, ample and complete guarantees for the protection of our rights under the Constitution, in this particu-

lar and all others, it will be the duty of North Carolina-mating common cause with her sister states of the South-to seek her safety out of the Union. Mr. Hall then said: Mr. Speaker, Why is it that in ty in our country, amid the full development of material well-being, when our fields are teeming with plenty, being disseminated far and wide, capital seeking investment, and labor meeting its reward, our flag the harbin-

ger of peace and good will to all the nations of the earth thorities of South Carolina that no attempt would be made as it floats in every clime, and our churches vocal with the Territorics and out of them, wherever you may go to exto disturb your possession of the forts and property of the praises to God for his goodness,-why is it, that as if | tend slavery. It has driven you back in California and by magic, the scene has shifted, and there is now presented to our stricken gaze the harrowing picture of men of different sections of the same country, who such attempt should be made, "provided that no reinforce- should but reflect upon each other's countenances the smiles of fraternal love, now scowling at each other in almost deadly bate, commerce prostrated, currency dethat surrounds tham ?

> It is, sir, because the slumbering apprehensions of years have been rudely awoke into certainty, because the cessities are fixed. storm, the mutterings of whose thunder we have been wont to shut our ears to, has burst upon us in its fury -the drop which was to make our cup overflow, has viction, so long fought against, has at last fixed itself whose interests require a system of legislation adverse to

fluence which might bear upon the case.

slavery sentiment. It is imbibed by the infant in his ald, of Chicago.] slavery sentiment. It is imbibed by the infant in his aid, or charged in the people should be heard mother's milk; it is his lullaby in the nursery; it is Yes, sir, the irrepressible conflict waged now across ever can be an occasion when the people should be heard mithing the limits of it is the present.

for, among the many things which you have said, there is republican government hath its prestige. Great names upon the summit of the Rocky Mountains. sanctify wrong, and the very inauguration of a black I have thus far argued, Mr. Speaker, that it was the accomplishment of their purpose, which is to subjugate would exert a tremendous moral influence in behalf of resistance to the administration of Abraham Lincoln a just cause the northern people united would be as near what is called "freedom," and deal the institution of the day his election was ascertained, upon the abstract invincible as any people in the world; I do not question slavery a blow, the force of which no man can fully ap merits of the case as between him and the Northern their bravery. But the cause they are engaged in is not preciate. The republican party would be lifted from its | States, without reference to the action of the Southern | just, and if they can be brought up by a "round turn," low estate to occupy a proud pre-eminence, and reflect States or any of them, before, at or since that time. highest official position in the Republic. The very fact | the lights now before us. of Carolina galiantry, Fort Sumter will live upon the suc- people. It would be admitting into our Paradise the hands, has dissolved her connection with the General

"Oh! how dearly we would pay for our primal fall, Some flowrets of Eden we still might inherit,

But the trail of the serpent would be o'er them all. Mr. Speaker, I do not apprehend that Mr. Lincoln even with a black republican Congress at his back would make any immediate or direct aggression upon slavery within the States; but I do say that the inexo- position in line by her side. The probability is that hail this as a good omen as far it goes, but let us not be rable policy which his administration and succeeding Arkansas and Texas will follow. What may be the ac- deceived; it is but the ripple upon the surface of this ones would mark out and insidiously, but persistently and surely effectuate, would be as has thus been graph. lation. Sir, are not the very foundations of our State by the position it has taken, has inaugurated at the ically portrayed: "To introduce the doctrine of negro equality into Amer-

tion hostile to the Southern States. "To exclude the slave property of the South from all territories now in the Union, or which may hereafter be ac-"To pr vent the admission in any latitude of another

slaveholding State. " To repeal the fugitive Slave Law, and practically refuse to obey the Constitution on that subject. "To refuse to prevent or punish by State action the spoliation of slave property; but on the contrary to make it a then perpetuate the Union of our fathers, the Union of vention, perhaps after all the North may not recede, and criminal offence in their citizens to obey the laws of the the Constitution—that Union which was ordained to then perhaps the State will secede. Sir, I am not alraid Union, in so far as they protect property in African Slaves. "To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. " To abolish it in the forts, arsenals, dock-yards and other places in the South, where Congress has exclusive jurisdic-

"To limit, harrass, and frown upon the institution in every mode of political action and by every form of public

And fically by the Executive, by Congress, by the postal service, the press, free speech, and all other accessible modes, to agitate without ceasing until the Southern States without sympathy or brotherhood in the Union, worn down by the unequal struggle, shall be compelled ignominiously to

Seward in the Senate, says:

destiny, and is organizing itself to assume the government of the Republic. It will benceforth meet you boldly add reso- quent thereto, framed the Constitution and the Union. should have war in any event. We certainly should not intell have (Washington) it will be constitution and the Union. lutely here (Washington:) it will meet you everywhere, in I duly estimate the wisdom, the sacrifices and the con-Kansas, it will invade you soon in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Missouri, and Texas. It will m et you in Arizona, in Central America, and even in Cuba.'

"You may, indeed, get a start under or near the tropics and seem safe for a time, but it will be only for a short time. Even there you will found States only for free labor to maintain and occupy. The interest of the whole race preciated, the arm of industry paralyzed, public confi- demands the ultimate emancipation of all men. Whether dence gone, individual credit suspected, and grim want and pale terror, as they stalk side by side amid the ruin needful and wise precautions against sudden change and disaster, or be hurried on by violence, is all that remains for you to decide." The white man needs this continent to labor upon. His head is clear, his arm is strong, and his ne-

" It is for yourselves, and not for us, to decide how long and through what further mortifications and disasters the the drop which was to make our cup overflow, has contest shall be protracted before freedom shall enjoy her albeen emptied into it. It is because the harrowing conready assured triumph. upon the Southern mind; that the slave States of this but your refusal will only animate the friends of freedom

constitution of a new and more independent Congress." Mr. Sumner says:

for explanation, we added, "And, in conclusion, we would them, without reference to any other consideration or inwe shall wait thereafter in vain for any overt act, than they ought to have been all the time, but specially a we have been asked is Abraham Lincoln an autcwe have been asked is Abraham Lincoln an autcwe fast becoming now to be in reference to Lincoln's at this time, as indicating that she is in dead of the control of the case. We have been asked is Abraham Lincoln an autcopinion as to what constitutes in reference to Lincoln's at this time, as indicating that she is in dead carnest, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a governcrat, that we should fear him? crat, that we should fear him? Sir, this is a government of opinion—popular will is our ruler. I do not ment of opinion—popular will is our ruler. I do not election, coupled with all its antecedents. The leaders that old Rip has woke up, rubbed his eyes, looked around and is about to "say his say;" that he has a round a say his say; "that he has a round around the rule of the majority of the Northern people are not rash fools. ment of opinion—popular will is our ruler. I do not election, coupled with all its antecedence.

ment of opinion—popular will is our ruler. I do not election, coupled with all its antecedence.

of the majority of the Northern people are not rash fools.

of the majority of the Northern people are not rash fools.

It is true, that relying upon the pusilanimity of the shift time that the row should be settled, for that he can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it is high time that the can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it is high time that the can't sleep for it; that he is not going to ask and is about to "say his say;" that he has concluded it is heart that he has colns would not suffice to ruffle the equanimity of the South, they did risk much in the election of an Aboli-Southern mind. But I do fear the accession of the South, they did risk much in the election of an Aboli-tion President. They knew that upon the cast of that thing inconsistent with the honor, the interests or the proper self-respect of any other State; that he is only the proper self-respect of any other State; that he is only the proper self-respect of any other State; that he is only the proper self-respect of any other State; that he is only the proper self-respect of any other State; that he is only the proper self-respect of any other State; the proper self-respect of any other State; the proper self-respect of any other States and the proper self-respect of any other States and the proper self-respect o power of which he is the minister. The influences which die was all the hazard. They elected him, and in the elected him were lust of sectional domination acting upbelief that the South would tamely submit, they boldly to ask simply, for what is just and right, and that the elected him were lust of sectional domination acting up on and through abolition zeal and fanatical hatred to belief that the South would tamely submit, they boldly to ask simply, for what is just and right, and that he is going on and through abolition zeal and fanatical hatred to proclaimed that the victory was won, that the election preparing himself to have it at all hazards and the hazards are the hazards and the hazards are the hazards belief that the South would tamely submit, they could preparing himself to have it at all hazards, and that he is proclaimed that the victory was won, that the election preparing himself to have it at all hazards, and in any proclaimed that the victory was won, that the election preparing himself to have it at all hazards, and in any proclaimed that the victory was won, that the election preparing himself to have it at all hazards, and in any of Lincoln was the downfall of slavery. [Mr. Hall event. Then, sir, let us call a Convention of the any let us the state to take this grave matter in good bere read a telling extract from the Congressional Her-

whipped into him by the schoolmaster; it is kissed into the border, is to be transferred within the limits of it is the present. your letter. Referring to it you say, "This I cannot do.— whipped into him by the schoolmaster; it is kissed into the border, is to be transferred will held the golden the border, is to be transferred.— Sir, I believe if any human event can bring the North Carolina. The President will held the golden there are severely little there people to their sober second thought. him by his sweetheart; it is the staple of his literature; North Carolina. The Tresident will be there people to their sober second thought, can convince it is harangued into him by pot-house politicians and key to unlock the gates of our citadel. Every little there people to their sober second thought, can convince it is harangued into him by pot-house politicians and light house guestom house and place of them of the reality of their immense responsible. it is harangued into him by pot-house politicians and key to unlock the gates of our claude. Every need them of the reality of their immense responsibility be learned statesmen; it is preached into him by petty post office, light house, custom house, and place of fore God and man, can arouse them to a sense of reporting them of the reality of their immense responsibility become a proper in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sensitive post office, light house, custom house, and place of fore God and man, can arouse them to a sense of responsibility become a proper in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sensitive post office, light house, custom house, and place of the reality of their immense responsibility become a proper in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sensitive post office, light house, custom house, and place of the reality of their immense responsibility become a proper in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sensitive post office, light house, custom house, and place of the reality of their immense responsibility become a proper in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sensitive post office, light house, custom house, and place of the reality of their immense responsibility become a proper in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sensitive post of the reality of their immense responsibility become a proper in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sensitive post of the reality of their immense responsibility become a proper in pulpits. popes in pulpits, until finally, his leading dominant sear rederar patronage within our marks, and a nucleus, turning justice, and tear away the veil with which far the light of their rederar patronage within our marks, and a nucleus, turning justice, and tear away the veil with which far naticism has dimmed the light of their rederar patronage within our marks, and a nucleus, naticism has dimmed the light of their rederar patronage within our marks, and a nucleus, naticism has dimmed the light of their rederar patronage within our marks, and a nucleus, naticism has dimmed the light of their rederar patronage within our marks, and a nucleus, naticism has dimmed the light of their rederar patronage within our marks, and a nucleus, naticism has dimmed the light of their rederar patronage within our marks and a nucleus, naticism has dimmed the light of their rederar patronage within our marks. has this sentiment embodied and manifested itself?— around which will gather a black republican squad.— inaticism has dimmed the light of their reason, it will be action I have indicated upon the part of the reason, it will be action I have indicated upon the part of the reason. has this sentiment embodied and manifested itself - around which will gather a black republican equal.

First, by besieging Congress with abolition petitions, Say what you will, every North Carolinian who holds lature of the Union-loving, unobtrusive solves legis. First, by besieging Congress with about of petitions, say what you will, every North Carolina the Carolina th positive assurance of gentlemen of the highest possible public reputation and the most unsullied integrity—men tions; then it invaded the sanctuary of the churches and ficit, the apologist of his administration, and the downexpelled from the communion table men professing the ward steps from apology to defence, and then to advothe State, and then to advothe State of the South whereby they may be indeed the sanctuary of the churches and then to advothe State. same religious faith. By its Wilmot Proviso, its Emigrant Aid Societies, the rifle and the sword it has bolder and the non-slaveholder will be fostered and ness and heed moderate counsels, it will be this indication on one part that in this, the hour of the sword it has bolder and the non-slaveholder will be fostered and ness and heed moderate counsels, it will be this indication on one part that in this, the hour of the sword it has bolder and the non-slaveholder will be fostered and the sword it has bolder and the non-slaveholder will be fostered and the ness and heed moderate counsels, it will be this indication of the ness and heed moderate counsels. grant Aid Societies, the rine and the sword, it has sought to exclude and has excluded southern men from fomented. The minds of the uneducated will be systim on our part that in this, the hour of their need, our sympathizing gaze is not everted from the need, our an equal participation in common territory purchased tematically demoralized upon the subject. The abolipreciate the common peril by which we appropriate the common peril by the common peril by the com an equal participation in common territory purchased tematically demoranzed upon the subject. The subject the common peril by which we are surrounded to leaven, which may now exist in North Carolina, preciate the common peril by which we are surrounded and southern treasure. In open, wanton, flagrant hostility to the south, it has by will then begin to find its business to work upon.— and are preparing to do our part to avert it. Sir, i open, wanton, flagrant hostility to the south, it has by will then begin to hid its outsides to work apon has pained my heart to witness the course of some of large majorities, in many northern States, passed per- After a while a black republican ticket may be run in our needle and presses towards that received the results of some of portunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other large majorities, in many northern States, passed per property of the United States, we would observe, first, that sonal liberty bills, and nullified laws for our benefit passsonal liberty bills, and numbed laws for our benefit pass. North Carolina, and ve may have the black Republican we are divided, only by an intangible imaginary line. Constitution. It has stained the soil of a sister State Senators. In the meantime, our slaves themselves, now Base vilification and contumely have been heaped red. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday. The news frem Major Anderson reached here early on Thursday, and with the blood of her citizens, and afforded sympathy happy, contented, and faithful, we their friends and they upon South Carolina unsparingly, and cui bono? He was immediately communicated to you. All that day men and safe refuge to their murderers. It has through the ours, would amid the turmoil, the excitement of debate of the highest consideration—men who had striven success-fully to lift you to your great office—who had been your and more the floor of Congress everters tightly one rest. fully to lift you to your great office—who had been your tried and true friends through the troubles of your Admin- and upon the floor of Congress, systematically, energettried and true friends through the troubles of your Admin-istration, sought you, and entreated you to act, to act at ically and persistently denounced, villified and abused in the power of police reus, and has stigmatized us as barbarians and no better gulations would be ineffectual at times to suppress outthan polygamists. It has, by its emissaries, its Helper breaks, and thus, foes without and foes within, with in the state of the state books, and other means, created a sense of insecurity in surrections and rumors of insurrections, with riots bewere so—that if the Commander had acted without and against your orders, and in violation of your pledges—that our midst, and paralyzed the peace of mind of our wives tween the different classes of our white population, our people with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and I against your orders, and in violation of your pledges—that our midst, and paralyzed the prace of mind of our writes tween the different classes of our writes the different cl maintain. You refused to decide. Your Secretary of War motio inscribed upon its flag, has ever been "Exceltion, famine staring us in the face from the prostration claim upon either, to complain for the lack of them. sior," until new it has boldly proclaimed the "irrepres- of commerce, the whole world against us in sentiment, But, they say she wants to dragoon us out of the Union sible conflict," and has without our votes, in spite of our and our own government our most bitter and unrelent. Have we any right to dragoon her in it, when she he More than twelve hours passed, and two Cabinet meet- earnest protest and supplications, and against our honor ing foe—great God, what hope would there be? As lieves it is her duty and her rights to go out of it? ings had adjourned, before you knew what the authorities of and safety, by unprecedented and almost fabulous ma- we stood at bay, frenzied, maddened, but despair- Some say they are glad she has gone out; it will teach the jorities in the Northern States, placed over us, as our ing, with our wives and children clinging to us North a lesson. We will let her run the risk and make chief executive ruler, the representative of our nation, a pale and panic stricken—death itself would be a refuge. the sacrifice, while we'll sit quietly by and reap the man because of his known hostility to our institutions, Sir, it is bad enough for fifteen equal States of this benefit. Well, the least we can do then is not to abuse because he has declared that these States must all be free Union to be practically excluded from any controlling her. Sir, sneer at her as we may, she is a gallant little States; a man who, as it has been said, dare not plant influence in the administration of this government. State, and I will say it of her because it is the truth his foot within the borders of North Carolina, and pub- even were the avowed policy of that administration to If this Union is restored and perpetuated in its pristing portant in the harbor. It could have been taken any time. licly speak his recorded opinions without subjecting protect their rights and loster their interests. But purity, its future historians may yet point to this when the avowed policy of that administration is to day and hour in South Carolina's history, and say in But it is said that inasmuch as there is still a Demo- deny them equality, to strike at their dearest interests, her belongs the glory. If a dissolution of the Union is cratic majority in the Senate, we must wait. If we to destroy the domestic tranquility and jeopardize the inevitable, then the inexorable logic of events may line pecially, the people were with deficulty restrained from securing, without blood, the possession of this important for tion will surely fail us. Do we not know that if at any I shall not invest Mr. Lincoln with the imperial purple, or politic to be implanting within the hearts of the new After many and reiterated assurances given on your time within the last two years elections had been held put into his hands the wand of power, and then lay ple of the two Carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot be a support believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot be a support believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas—where should blosse which we cannot be a support believe uponthorized they get at the carolinas at the in any one of the free States now represented by these the flattering unction to my soul, that after all he will Democrats who gave us the majority in the Senate, that prove himself a perjured har, talsity his whole record, I hope to hear no more of this abuse of South Carolina wished you no ill. They thought of you kindly; believed republicans of the blackest stripe would have been sub- and betray the party which elevated him. No, sir, I It will take enough for the wounds already inflicted in you true; and were willing, as far as was consistent with stituted in their stead. But, say they, we have still the will take him and the immense northern majorities who heal. Supreme Court. Well, the Black Republicans do not elected him at their word, and I'll resist them now, sir. But it is said if we arm the State and call a Convention regard its decisions now. Mr. Lincoln, in a speech de- They have crossed the rubicon. They must go back tion it will be regarded by the Northern people as a evered in Chicago 16th, July, 1858, said: "I have al- If they want to treat they must do it on the other side. threat, and will prevent their receding. Sir, what has ways hated slavery as much as any abolitionists. I The crisis which for years has been threatening has been wanting heretofore to secure our just rights in the bave always hated it, and I always believed it in a course | culminated. The great issue whether we will it or not | Union, has been firmness and decision on the part of a of ultimate extinction. If I were in Congress, and a is upon us-the first decisive battle of the irrepressible United South. It may not now be too late. One great vote should come up on a question, whether slavery conflict is now being fought. Let us stand firm, close difficulty has been that a large mass of the northern new should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the up in serried ranks and lock shields. It is due to the ple do not themselves appreciate the terrible dangers to Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should." But honor and welfare of North-Carolina, God bless her, it us of the doctrine they have been taught, and that igno turther, we know it is the avowed policy of that party is due to our manhood, it is due to our children and our rance has to some extent been fostered by our divisions its attending circumstances, was as much war as firing a voi- to re-construct the Supreme Court to suit its views, and children, that now, now, when we have the They have been lead to believe that the South is bound y; and, war being thus begun, until those commencing it consequently we should soon be deprived of its poor agis. might and the strength, we should conquer upon this to the Union by hooks of steel, which no aggressions on splained their action and disavowed their intention, there while we Why, then, simply wait, when by waiting simply, these question an everlasting peace. Cause the Northern their part could loosen. They have been told that all mind to re-act, cause the uplifted Northern arm to stay our demands for redress were but as the "sounding brass Let us now, sir, consider the inevitable consequences its death blow by doing nothing but "watch and wait!" and tinkling cymbol," and that we dare not strike for that when the first gun shall be fired, there will have been which would follow from the adoption of the slave and policy, and an acquiescence in a submission to the ad- take your seat upon the banks of the Mississippi, and non-slaveholder. Many of them yet think that all this ministration of Abraham Lincoln. Sir, "there is a "watch and wait" to see the mighty father of waters re- is a muss kicked up by South Carolina, and will end in divinity that doth hedge a king," and power even in a verse his current, and roll up the billows of the Atlantic smoke, and the majority of them are yet determined as

republican President, upon the policy of that party, duty of North Carolina to have assumed an attitude of the South and abolish slavery. Now I believe that in

refusing to disavow the action of Major Anderson, have con- the radiance shed upon it from the effulgent beams ema- I come now to consider what this Senate should do verted his violation of orders into a legitimate act of your nating from the pomp, pride and circumstance of the with reference to the present state of affairs, and with of the Union than we are, and we all know the nothern of submission to it would bend the proud spirit of our | South Carolina has taken her destiny in her own

Government and claims to stand before the world a sov- constituency. I do not believe there is a man, woman ereign, free and independent State. It is unquestionably her determination at this time never to reunite that | Convention. Upon this question the immediate sees brotherhood of Union with the free States. It amounts almost to a certainty, that in a few weeks Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida and Louisiana will take the northern mind has already begun to react. Sir, I tion of the other Southern States is a matter of specu- great hostile sentiment. If, however, a divided South being shaken in the midst of mighty events? And are North a movement in the right direction, then there is we to sit here, poor Pillicoddy like, waiting for some- some room for hope that a united South in action may ican politics, and to make it the ground of positive legisla thing to turn up, and idly permitting our gallant ship of effectuate and complete it. Let us not be sanguine. State North Carolina, without a flag at her mast-head, have it from high authority that it is the policy of some without a compass in her binnacle, without a chart to of the Black Republican leaders to hold out delusive steer by, to be made the sport of every blast, and drift hopes to the South until the 4th of March, and then upon the current of events, and float upon the surface of | when the forged fetters are upon us, to bid us defiance the occasion until she strands, God knows where, a dis- and if we resist, whip us into submission. I shall not be mantled hulk? No sir, we should act, and with what content with verbal promises. The bond must be signed, view? Why sir, with a view to restore, if possible, and sealed and delivered. But say some, if we call a Conestablish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for to trust the people; it is their right to decide that great the common defence, promote the general welfare, and question; it is my duty to obey and yield to that desecure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our pos- cision. I know they will do right. But sir, frankness terity. That is our duty. Sir, I am no disunionist per compels me to say, were I a member of that Convention se, I am not yet a secessionist. I recollect that the golden and the rights of North-Carolina were no better assured band of the Constitution was fastened around the "old to her than they are now, and in addition thereto, six of thirteen" to perpetuate and preserve to each of them | eight slave States had permanently seceded, leaving her the inestimable treasure of liberty; I recollect that a suppliant at the feet of a Black Republican governtreasure was purchased at the sacrifice of life and blood, ment, I would vote to have her out of that Union, by and bitter, bitter tears. My memory lingers with pa- the 4th of March, high and dry. The time in my opin triptic pride on the glories of the battle fields of Bunker's ion would have come for North-Carolinia to unfurl the Hill, Moore's Creek, Monmouth, and Cowpens-battle | flag of her State Sovereignty, and if need be, to sum-Does any one doubt that the foregoing will be the fields which have been whitened by the bones of the sons of mons with one blast upon her bugle horn, her sons from policy? Let us look at a few of the proofs without re- massachusetts, New Jersey and the Carolinas, as they the seabord and from the mountains to rally around its erring to their platforms, Helper's book, &c. Mr. fell fighting side by side. A feeling of reverential awe and under it to maintain her honor and her rights, of steals over me as fancy pictures the great and good make it their winding sheet. "'A free Republican Government like this, notwithstanding all its constitutional checks, cannot long resist and counteract the progress of society."

Washington, as he led the suffering people of the Colonies through the long, dark perilous night of the Reveal on the Reveal of the dreadful apprehensions resulted to the dreadful olution, into the noon-day sun of Independence. I ing from a separation, which gentlemen conjure up be revere the memories of the illustrious men who, subse-

> "Trust no future, however pleasant, Let the dead past bury its dead, Act, act in the living present, Heart within, and God overhead."

Sir, the Union of to-day is not the Union of our fathers. Gentlemen may say, critically speaking, that the Federal Government has committed no overt act upon Southern rights; that the election of Lincoln was in strict accordance with the forms of the Constitution; but, sir, was it not utterly, totally subversive of its spir-You may refuse to yield it now, and for a short period, it? Will that exact justice, that fraternal regard, that mutual concession, that hearty good will between the **Monorandom of Verial Instructions to Mojor Anderson Mark Commonday Per Mondries, Sound Control and C as an abject victim, to guitify the lust of northern av-

It has been a fatal habit with us for the last five years of the Northern anti-to ignore the increasing power of the Northern anti-to ignore the increasing power of the Northern anti-ald of Chicago.] own hands, where it properly belongs. Surely if there

> lieve the appellation was first applied to her by North flowers of affection-the seeds of hostility and hate? See

long as we will permit them, to march straight on to the and made to pause and think, there may yet be hope .-Besides, they are far more interested in the preservation people have no decided antipathy to the almighty dollar. So far as the demand by the people for a Convention

or child in New Hanover County, who does not wanta sionists and extreme Union men are a unit. But it is said there is no need of a Convention, that

is concerned, I will assume to speak but for my own

fore their heated imaginations. I do not believe we cessions through which they were created, and the mani- difficulties which gentlemen apprehend in forming a fire fold blessings which they have conferred. I love that ture Union or alliance for North Carolina, based upon Union; give me but it, and I would stamp upon it esto elements which will ensure harmony and perpetuityperpetua. Would sir, that like some, I could think and though I have not now time to go into their consideralive but in the past. I will at least, drink inspiration tion. It is all fancy to talk about the destruction from its memories. But sir, a stern sense of duty to republican liberty being necessarily involved in a disco myself, and those who are to come after me, bid that I lution of this Union. The colonies fought for that and won it, and each State severally and separately enjoyed it, long before this Union was formed, and I see no reason why it will not survive its dissolution, and still be enjoyed by each of them in any new construction they may deem it their interests to form.

I do not propose to argue the abstract right of second sion. I think practically now it is a question of no inportance. My advocacy of North-Carolina going out of the Union, upon the contingency to which I have " ferred, would not be affected in the slightest degree by whatever name you might call it, whether revolution rebellion or secession. But, in passing sir, I will sy that I believe a State has the right peaceably to seed from the Union. I hold that I owe allegiance to the general government as a citizen of North-Carolina, and only so long as North-Carolina commands me to yield